2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On the latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359

[31] *Ibid.* 2:360–362

[32] *Ibid.* 2:364–365

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

This substitute is called *gelol*, the same image but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

During the procession the saint is carried in a litter. Incense is burned before him, while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

There are other ceremonies held in the parajes which, although based on Christian ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

793 The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] [648] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

[794] The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like [535] a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

273* positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the
621 794 554 arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 621 794 554 561 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* 621 794 554 533 The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

273* in the order of drinking. There is no drink server in the informal drinking sequence; a man initiates the drinking act with each other man in turn until his bottle is empty. The relative age-ranks of the participants are recognized, however, in that if an older person is present, he is served first. Also, toasting (see the description of drinking by the civil hierarchy) incorporates forms of address--/BANKIL/, /TAT/, and /TATA*/--in which relative age-rank is recognized.

273* 273* 561

273* The informal drinking sequence, then, is loosely structured internally, and its length is determined by the interaction of the number of participants with the quantity of aguardiente in the bottle. The sequence is terminated when the bottle is empty. A new sequence is initiated when another participant produces another bottle and invites the others to drink. The length of time between sequences varies from virtually no time, when the group is in a bar and a new bottle can be quickly bought, to much longer periods when participants must go to borrow money to buy a bottle or (as happened before the cantinas were established) to find someone who has a bottle to sell. One sequence follows another until all the participants have run out of aguardiente or are unconscious.

[264] No eating--even of regular meals at home--is associated with the informal drinking sequence. Sometimes a marimba is associated with the informal drinking sequence, but only when the

[533]

273* marimberos drink together with their friends in the house where [533] the instrument is kept. When the informal drinking sequence [275] takes place in a cantina, it is accompanied by music played on the phonograph of the cantinero. Each piece costs the owner twenty centavos, and before it is played the names of the donor and his drinking companions are announced over the loud speaker, which carries the sound all over the community.

The informal drinking cycle differs from the ceremonial cycle in that it may move from one setting to another. The two types of cycle differ also in the settings in which each may occur. The distribution of cycles by setting is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF DRINKING CYCLES BY SETTING

Informal drinking	Ceremonial drinking	Informal drinking and ceremonial drinking	Neither
cantinas	porch of cabildo	uncultivated fields	cultivated fields
	inside cabildo	door yards	inside church
	inside caves	house porches	inside convento
	porch of convento	inside houses	inside clinic
			inside store

342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil*, identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven.

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.*

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.*

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr:

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

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After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik."Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?eštateš."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucía blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos.* [788] *Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The nič'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house.* [273] *After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.*

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving* [533] *three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest.* [454] *It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Luciá	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] [188] [794] [273] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] [276] [794] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 273 539 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre. 794 796 539 [273]

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall. 794 796 [273] 794 796 526 [621] [533]

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races. [273] [276]

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and* [273]

794 796 526 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. [788] *All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the* [533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 231 526 [796] [492] Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the [273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits 225

796
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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing

Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers* [*a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals*] *are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matrake, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

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794
796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[788] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

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Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities.

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor,

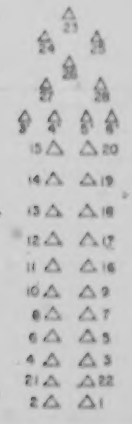

CHART 4 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

5–6 Alferezes
23 Guitarist (*alpultero*)
24, 25 Firecracker lighters (*tomete ti'bak*)
26 Flautist (*yamar*)
27, 28 Drummers (*stihik sk'ayohik*)

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods.

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MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

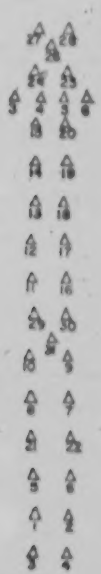

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

9:Nash E-8 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

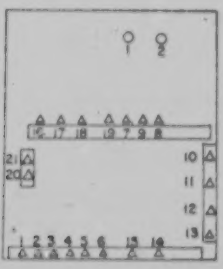

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Slehal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentu)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Slehal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolehal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnial Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

· 9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*paſʔoſ'an yič ṙmahtanil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yoʔt'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔt'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *paſʔoſ'an*	First judge speaks with *meʔil k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
19. How do they give the *spat yoʔt'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
			and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, *1 codigo viejo*, etc.
35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

APPENDIX 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 5	OBSERVATION
794	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelers*, Making the candles	
796 124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they brought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is will finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the older mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrates	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrates with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor (*ya'al*)	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *'ah'bal*
273 124	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down (*sko'op we'elelik*)	
	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal (*ya'lel we'elel*)	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

794	19. Where do they drink?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ah?bal*
796	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ah?bal*
124	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mats kux*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[273] [840]			
[262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ah?bal*. The wife of the *Bektal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
[252]	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wilperel	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink tragu	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobrarta Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobrarta of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawarketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (*ssuk*)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobrarta of Santa Lucia say to the kobrarta of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanyago sanpablu? So it is that we	

9:Nash E-S (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy sign holy oath and the name of the god the father
[273]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanenk*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[533]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *kuramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nan'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross a
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of [illegible]